DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 251 344 SO 016 002

AUTHOR Der-Karabetian, Aghop; Proudian-Der-Karabetian, Armine
TITLE Ethnicity and Civil War: The Lebanese-Armenian Case.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 31p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Arabs; College Students; Culture Conflict; *Ethnicity; Ethnic Relations; Group Unity; Higher Education; High School Students; History; Identification (Psychology); Intergroup Relations; Nationalism; Political Influences; Secondary Education; Self Concept; Social Influences; Social Science Research; Student Attitudes; Surveys; *War
IDENTIFIERS *Armenians; *Lebanon

ABSTRACT

Results of a study which examined the impact of the Lebanese civil war on the ethnic orientation of Armenians in Lebanon are presented. A brief historical overview of the presence of Armenians in Lebanon is given first, focusing on the evolution of Armenian-Arab relations. A theoretical framework is then provided to guide the discussion of the survey data. Pre- and post-civil war surveys of senior high school and university students were conducted. Results showed that the civil war in Lebanon has sensitized the Armenian community to its differentiation from other groups, rigidified its ethnic boundaries, and increased in-group allegiance. However, an overarching sense of Lebanese national identity is maintained. The study shows that ethnic identity is not static but changes over time according to socio-political transformations. (RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED251344

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Aghop Der-Karabetian

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Ethnicity and Civil War:

The Lebanese-Armenian Case *

Aghop Der-Karabetian and Armine Proudian-Der-Karabetian

University of La Verne, California

1984

SO 016 002

Running Head: Ethnicity and Civil War

* Correspondence and request for reprints should be addressed to Aghop Der-Karabetian, Department of Behavioral Sciences, University of La Verne, 1950 Third St., La Verne, CA 91750. The authurs thank Dr. Paul Starr of Auburn University and Dr. Nicol Schahgadlian of the Rand Corporation for their comments and suggestions.

Ethnicity and Civil War: The Lebanese-Armenian Case

Empirical studies of the impact of traumatic socio-political events are indeed rare. The ongoing civil war in Lebanon provided an opportunity to do such a study. In 1974, prior to the onset of open hostilities in the April of 1975, a survey of the ethnic orientation of Armenians in Lebanon had been conducted (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977). During a visit to Lebanon in the Spring of 1978 a similar survey was also carried out to examine the impact of the intervening years of intercommunal violence. Such an examination would provide a test of the situational principle of ethnicity, on the one hand, and shed some light on the dynamic nature of ethnicity under conditions of civil upheaval. To understand the impact of the civil war on Armenian ethnic orientation it is important to see it in a historical context. Consequently, a brief historical overview of the presence of Armenians in Lebanon is given first, focusing on the evolution of Armenian-Arab relations. Then, a theoretical framework is defined to guide the discussion of the survey data.

Brief Historical Overview

Despite its small extent (4,000 square miles) and population (2.5 million) Lebanon is a complex mosaic of

heterogenious groups. Presently 18 religious-ethnic communities are officially recognized by the government. The first seven of these, including the Armenian Apostolic community, are numerically the largest and hence are of major political importance. Historically, Mount Lebanon, the mountainous central region of the country, has been regarded as a refuge for various persecuted ethnic-religious groups in the Middle East and Asia Minor (Hourani, 1946). These minorities have been able to preserve their identity against numerous foreign occupations and intrusions. The 1926 Constitution of the country, drawn during the French Mandate, further institutionalized and legalized the confessional system and legitimized the sectarian power structure that had existed in the country for centuries. The Constitution specifically states the right of every community to proportional representation in various governmental bodies including the parliament (Spagnolo, 1971).

Different Christian sects form about half the total population. The other half is primarily made up of Shii and Sunni Muslims and the Post-Islamic Druze Sect. In addition to Armenians, who form 8 percent of the total population, there are a number of other small ethnic groups who are ethnically non-Arabs such as Kurds, Circassiams, Turkmans, Jews and Yazidis.

The presence of Armenians in Mount Lebanon goes back to the middle ages (Hovannisian, 1974). However, the surge of recent immigration into Lebanon commenced in the late 19th century as the Ottoman government increased its oppression against Armenians in Turkish-held Armenia and other minorities throughout the Empire. The Contemporary Armenian community in Lebanon came into being only after the 1915-16 massacres. The last major move came from Syria in the years between 1959 and 1966 (Schahgaldian, 1981). The presence of Armenians on the Lebanese socio-political scene was legitimized when they obtained citizenship in 1924 according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Lausanne. This helped define the relationship between the Armenians and the two dominant indigenous groups: Arab Christian and Muslims. While the Muslims, expecially the Sunnis, opposed this decision because it strengthened the Christian majority, the Arab Christians, the Maronites in particular, were pleased since it preserved their dominant political power. In time, both of the indigenous communities gradually accepted the Armenians because of their contribution to the reconstruction of the country after the First World War and their non-interference in internal confessional affairs (Bedoyan, 1979).

The Lebanese census of 1932 legitimized the anticipated role of the Armenians in the political power structure of the

country, giving the Christians a 6 to 5 dominant ratio over the Muslims (Hourani, 1947). Because of their higher ratio Christians had greater representation in different governmental bodies including the parliament. Thus, while the Arab Christians gained the edge in the political arena, the Armenians obtained political legitimacy and access to seats of power.

Initially, the legal integration of Armenians led to the progressively greater acceptance of the Armenian community by the Arab Christians on the one hand, and to the greater tendency by the Armenians to borrow from the Arab Christian culture, on the other. A mutual decrease in social distance between the Armenians and the Arab Christians was observed between 1935 and 1952 (Prothro and Melikian, 1952; Elmasian, 1971). Moreover, Arab Christians demonstrated a strong positive disposition toward Armenians until the late sixties (Der-Karabetian, 1981). As the Armenians began to prosper and get a larger share of the country's economic resources in the sixties and the seventies (Bouldoukian, 1979), the decreasing trend in the social distance on the part of the Arab Christians leveled off and began to take a turn (Elmasian, 1971; Starr, 1976). On their part, parallel to their growing prosperity, the Armenians continued the decreasing trend in social distance (Elmasian, 1971).

Furthermore, they demonstrated growing openness to the indigenous Christian culture through greater intermarriage, and internalization of manifest needs and personality characteristics (Melikian and Der-Karabetian, 1977). Also, younger age Armenian groups manifested less intense ethnic orientation (Der-Karabetian and Oshagn, 1977). However, despite their openness, the Armenians continued to maintain distinct ethnic and confessional infrastructures (Libaridian, 1980; Corbin, Griffith, and Rahhal, 1975).

The reliance of the Arab Christians on the unconditional support of the Armenians in the political power structure suffered considerably after and during the 1958 civil war because certain Armenian factions sided with the Muslim-led leftist opposition. Furthermore, as the Muslim's began to challenge the Christian supremacy more openly in the sixties and seventies, the Armenians declined to throw their full weight behind the Arab Christians. They were passive and showed discretion in their support.

When the 1975 civil war broke out Armenians showed a neutral communal stance (Lang, 1976). Some Arab Christians regarded the Armenian posture as an open betrayal of trust developed over a number of decades, and they repeatedly pressured the Armenians to throw their lot with the Christians. The Armenians refused to do so and were frequently harassed for their stance. Although at some cost to themselves, the neutral stance was probably politically a very prudent

decision, since there were Armenians on both the western (Muslim) and the eastern (Christian) sectors of Beirut.

Thus, cooperation and self-interest has affected the evolution of the Arab-Armenian relations in Lebanon. The Arab-Armenian relations were dynamically related to their constantly evolving competitive-cooperative relationship with regard to political and economic resources.

Ethnicity and The Situational Principle

The impact of the civil war on ethnic boundaries may be understood in the framework of Shil's (1957) situational principle. Situations that involve interaction between ethnic groups determine the salience of ethnic orientation. When there is competition for political and economic resources ethnicity acquires greater salience resulting in stronger ethnic group allegiance (Glasser, 1958; Patterson, 1975; Brass and Van den Berghe, 1976, Barth, 1969; Bell and Freeman, 1974).

A civil war is the ultimate manifestation of competition for power and resources in a polyethnic society and is bound to raise ethnic orientation.

Lebanon was a precarious republic from its very inseption (Hudson, 1968). The fragile sectarian system threatened to break down a number of times during its short life by an uprising in 1949, an attempted coup in 1961, and two civil wars one in

1958 and another in 1975 (Barakat, 1977). The repeated civil upheavals attest to the built-in competitive socio-political structure of Lebanon where ethnic boundaries are quite salient (Starr, 1978). Ethnicity fluctuates in times of open hostility and subdued competitiveness. Civil upheavals and social turmoil raise group consciousness and ingroup solidarity. Strong group identifications that emerge serves a supportive function as well as reinforce ethnocentrism, (Volkan, 1979; LeVine and Campbell, 1972).

Thus, in the framework of the situational principle, it was expected that there would be a stronger ethnic orientation among Armenians in 1978 compared to 1974. Furthermore, those who participated more directly in the Civil War were expected to demonstrate stronger ethnic orientation than those who did not. It was also expected that the relationship of the Lebanese and the Armenian identities would reflect this same phenomenon.

The Survey Samples

The 1978 sample was composed of senior high school and university students. To make the pre-war and the 1978 samples comparable, respondents were selected from the pre-war sample who also attended high school and university. The pre-war sample was originally part of a study that compared age group differences in ethnic orientation among the Lebanese-Armenians (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977). Altogether there were

61 males and 46 females in the sample derived from the pre-war study, and 109 males and 137 females in the 1978 sample.

The Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire: This questionnaire was developed prior to the 1975 civil war by Der-Karabetian and Oshagan (1977). It comprised a list of 57 statements referring to preferences of Armenian cultural manifestations, language, homeland, customs and institutions. A six-point Likert-type endorsement scale was used.

The original questionnaire had high internal consistency (alpha=.89). It also showed strong criterion group validity. The 1978 ethnic orientation questionnaire included 50 of the 57 items that showed significant item-total correlations ($p < .005$). The ethnic orientation scores of males and females did not differ. The questionnaire again showed strong internal consistency. The mean endorsement across 50 items, after reversing the negative ones, formed the individual ethnic orientation score.

The Ethnic Identity Scale: It was administered only to the 1978 sample. The scale is composed of 17 items originally developed by Zak (1973) to measure the dual identity of Jewish-Americans. Der-Karabetian (1981) successfully adopted and used the scale with Armenian-Americans. For the present study the items were properly reworded for Lebanese-Armenians. There were 9 items dealing with the Lebanese identity and 8 items with the Armenian identity. The internal consistency

of the Lebanese and Armenian identity scales were .77 and .67, respectively. All questionnaires were administered in Armenian.

Demographic Questions: Besides age, sex, socioeconomic status and political party membership, the 1978 respondents indicated their participation in the "protection and well-being" of the Armenian community. The loss of someone dear or close because of the fighting was also reported.

Analyses of Ethnic Orientation Scores

Table 1 summarizes the mean scores on the ethnic orientation questionnaire, the Armenian identity and the Lebanese identity scales of the different groups. First, the pre-war ethnic orientation scores are compared with the 1978 scores, then the Lebanese and Armenian identity scores in the 1978 sample are examined.

Insert Table 1 here

As table 1 indicates, the ethnic orientation score of the 1978 sample is significantly higher than the pre-war sample (t= 5.80, p .001). Although the higher 1978 score is consistent with the situational principle it must be interpreted causciously. The difference is significant but the magnitude of the increase is only a quarter of a scale point. The nature of the design does not preclude alternative interpretations of the observed difference, although the two samples are comparable in age, education and gender composition and political party membership. About 30 percent of each sample is composed of Armenian political party members who tend to score higher on ethnic orientation (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977).

The impact of involvement was examined by comparing the ethnic orientation of those who actively participated in the "protection and well being" of the community with those who did not. Such participation implied one or more duties such as night=guard, patrols, first aid, civil defense and street combat. The mean ethnic orientation scores of 83 individuals indicating active participation was not significantly different from that of 83 other randomly-selected individuals of the 1978 sample (See Table 1). The impact was also assessed by comparing the mean scores of 62 individuals who indicated that they lost someone dear or close to them with 62 other randomly-selected individuals who did not. The scores were also not significantly different (See Table 1).

Thus, the data suggest that there is an increase in the ethnic orientation score in 1978 compared to 1974. In the absence of a control group that did not experience the war it is hard to challenge the argument that the difference may be due to passage of time or other intervening events. However, probably the civil war was the most overwhelming social and personal preoccupation during the 1974 - 1978 period.

Individual Item Comparisons

To explore shifts in the specific aspects of ethnic orientation, the scores of the 1978 sample on each of the 50 items were compared to the pre-war sample. Table 2 indicates the individual item scores of the two samples and the significance of the differences. Twenty-four of the items changed significantly. A close inspection of the changed items reflects a certain pattern. There seems to be a glorification of ethnic descent apparent in the tendency to value and uphold tradition to a greater degree. There is greater desire to maintain old customs (Item 5) and compatriotic organizations (Item 40), increased support for the church

---

Insert Table 2 here

(Item 15, 39), higher evaluation of ethnic literature (Item 45) and the Armenian language (Item 38), and greater emphasis of ethnic identity in the definition of the whole person

(Item 13,22). The glorification of ethnic descent is consistent with the notion that shared ancestry is marked off by cultural attributes (Parsons, 1975; De Vos, 1975; Keyes, 1976) which are accentuated under conditions of intergroup conflict, possibly to the degree of group narcissism (Volkan, 1979).

In addition to the greater emphasis on heritage a heightened sense of differentiation from the indigenous non-Armenian culture is apparent. There is a stronger rejection of non-Armenian education (Item 16, 48) and business transections (Item 20). There is an increased tendency to see the ethnic group as more hardworking (Item 28), more nurturant (Item 29) and more family oriented (Item 30). Moreover, there is a lesser tendency to identify as Lebanese first (Item 2). The rejection of the outgroup stands in contrast to earlier trends of decreasing social distance (Elmasian, 1971) and growing acculturation of the younger age groups (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977; Melikian and Der-Karabetian, 1977).

Evidence of differentiation is also seen in the outgroup marriage pattern after 1974. Examination of marriage certificates at the prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church revealed that the percentage of Armenian men marrying outside their group increased significantly from 9.8 to 13.0 between 1974 and 1977 ($z = 2.46$, $p < .001$). For women, marriage

outside decreased significantly from 12.5 to 10.5 percent ($z = 2.38$, $p < .02$). While men venture out to bring other women into the group, outgroup men are not allowed to penetrate the group as effectively. Exchange of women in such manner helps define and protect group boundaries (Levi-Strouss, 1953). In the present case, the observed pattern of intermarriage is consistent with the increased sense of differentiation felt by Armenians.

Taken together, the comparison of ethnic orientation scores before the war and in 1978, suggests the presence of the closure affect of the war on ethnicity. The 1978 sample seems to diaplay stronger ingroup allegiance centered around the culturally distinctive aspects of the group. There is also a heightened sense of differentiation and hardening of the ethnic boundary. The effect of the war as well as the prior evolution of the Armenian-Arab relations in Lebanon are consistent with the situational principle of ethnicity.

Analysis of The Relationship of Lebanese and Armenian Identities

A minority status necessarily implies a larger context. If identification with a minority group is affected in the present context then it is conceivable that identification with the larger cultural context may also be affected. In the framework of Lewinian field theory, simultaneous participation in two coextensive cultures exposes an individual to influences from two overlapping psychological

situations (Cartwright, 1951).

In the life space of minority persons, certain forces enhance positive identification with the group by its members, and other forces lead to greater identification with the larger cultural context. The interplay of these forces in a given phenomenological situation determines the relationship of the two cultural identities, (Shil, 1957; Patterson, 1975; Stonquist, 1961 Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1978; McGuire McGuire, Child and Fujioka, 1978).

Studies by Zak (1973) and Der-Karabetian (1980) have shown that majority and minority identities are not polarized. However, a study by Zak (1976) with Arab-Israeli students showed that the polarization of the two identities was totally accounted for by the perception of the conflict in the area. Given the sectarian conflict in Lebanon one may be tempted to see the two identities as polarized. But, it must also be recognized that the sense of Lebanese nationhood is known to transcend and encompass identification with any one of the major groups in the country (Schahgaldian, 1981).

To test for the polarization of the two cultural identities the Armenian and the Lebanese identity scores of the entire 1978 sample was correlated. It turned out to be virtually zero ($r = -.08$), indicating the independence and the unpolarized nature of the two dimensions of cultural identity. A correlation

reflects the trend in the relative standing of the two identity scores and not the difference in their levels. In order to examine their relative magnitudes the mean identity scores were compared. The Armenian identity was significantly higher than the Lebanese identity (t = 14.68. p .ool). Thus, although there is an overall stronger ingroup identification, it is not necessarily associated with weaker Lebanese identification.

The Lebanese and Armenian identities were also found to be unpolarized for those who lost someone, and for those who did not lose someone close because of the civil war (Table 1). But for those who participated in the "protection and well being" of their community the two identities were correlated positively (r = +.56). The key to understanding this positive correlation lies in the active commitment of these individuals to the Armenian community, on the one hand, and to the integrity of Lebanon, on the other. This is consistent with the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957; Bem, 1967) asserting that commitment to a cause and the investment of time and effort in it tends to generate positive attitude towards that cause. That impact of participation on Lebanese identity is also seen in the identity of participants and non-participants. The participants scored significantly higher compared to the non-participants (Table 1).

Although there is a higher degree of endorsement of ethnic identity, it is not necessarily associated with lower Lebanese national identity. The two identities may coexist at high levels. The civil war in Lebanon has sensitized the Armenian community to its differentiation from other groups, regidified its ethnic boundaries and increased ingroup allegiance. However, an overarching sense of Lebanese national identity is maintained (Schahgaldian, 1981).

In summary, the analysis presented here indicates that ethnic identity is not static but changes over time according to Socio-political transformations; (b) civil strife and upheavals raise ingroup solidarity in ethnic communities; (c) higher ethnic identity is not necessarily associated with lower Lebanese national feeling; (d) communal cooperation as well as sectarian rivalry have been primary factors affecting Arab-Armenian relations in Lebanon.

References

Barakat, H.N. (1977), Lebanon In Strife. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Barth, F. (1969), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. London: Allen and Unwin.

Bedoyan, H. (1979), The social, political and religious structure of the Armenian community in Lebanon. The Armenian Review, 32, 119-130.

Bell, W., and Freeman, W.E. (1975), Ethnicity and Nation-Building. London: Sage.

Bem, D.J. (1967), Self-perception: An alternative interpretation of cognitive disonance phenomena. Psychological Review, 74, 183-200.

Bouldoukian, M. (1979), Armenian business in Lebanon. The Armenian Review, 32, 131-133.

Brass, P.R., and Van Den Berghe, P.L. (1976), Ethnicity and nationalism in world perspective, Ethnicity, 3, 197-201.

Cartwright, O. (1951), Field Theory in Social Science. New York: Harper.

Corbin, H., Griffith, K., and Rahhal, A. (1975), Observations on the Armenians in Lebanon made in 1970-73. The Armenian Review, 28, 391-409.

Der-Karabetian, A. (1981), Image and self-image of Armenians in Lebanon. In Image and Self-Image of Armenians in History and Literature (R.G. Hovannisian, Ed.), pp. 241--249. Malibu, California:. Undena publications.

Der-Karabetian, A. (1980), Relation of two cultural identities of Armenian-Americans. Psychological Reports, 47, 123-128.

Der-Karabetian, A. and Oshagan, E. (1977), Ethnic Orientation of Armenians in Lebanon. The Armenian Review, 30, 164-175.

De Vos, G. (1975), Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accomodation. In Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change (G. De Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross, Eds.), pp. 5-41. Palo Alto, California: Mayfield.

Elmasian, S. (1971), Social distance and Political orientation. Unpublished Senior Thesis, American University of Beirut.

Festinger, L. (1957). A Theory of Cognitive Disonance. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Genesee, F., Tucker, G.R., and Lambert, W.E. (1978), The development of ethnic identity and ethnic role taking skills in children from different school settings. International Journal of Psychology, 13, 39-57.

Glaser, D. (1958), Dynamics of ethnic identification. American Sociological Review, 23, 31-40.

Hourani, A.H. (1947), Minorities in the Arab World. London: Oxford University Press.

Hovannisian, R. (1974), The ebb and flow of the Armenian minority in the Arab Middle East. The Middle East Journal, 28, 19-32.

Hudson, M.C. (1968), The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization in Lebanon. New York: Random House.

Keyes, C.F. (1976), Towards a new formulation of the concept of ethnic group. Ethnicity, 3, 202-213.

Le Vine, R.A., and Campbell, D.T. (1972), Ethnocentrism. New York: Wiley.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1953), Social structure. In Anthropology Today (A.L. Kroeber, et.al. eds), pp. 524-533. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lang, D.M., and Walker, C.J. (1977), The Armenians. London: Minority Rights Group.

Libaridian, G. (1980), Armenia and Armenians: A divided homeland and a dispersed people. In Soviet-Asian Ethnic Frontiers (W.O. McCagg and B. Silver, Eds.). pp. 27-62. New York: Pergamon Press.

Melikian, L.H., and Der-Karabetian, A. (1977). Personality change over time: Assimilation of an ethnic minority in Lebanon. The Journal of Social Psychology, 103, 185-191.

McGuire, W.J., McGuire, C.V., Child, P. Fujioka, T. (1978). Salience of ethnicity in the spontaneous self-concept as a function of one's ethnic distinctiveness in the social environment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, 511-520.

Parsons, T. (1975), Some theoretical considerations on the nature and trends of change of ethnicity. In Ethnicity (N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, Eds.), pp. 51-83. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Patterson, O. (1975), Context and choice in ethnic allegiance: A theoretical framework and Caribean case study. In Ethnicity (N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, Eds.), pp. 305-349. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Prothro, E.T., and Melikian, L.H. (1952), Social distance and social change in the Near East. Sociology and Social Research, 37, 3-11.

Schahgaldian, N. (1981), The Armenians in Lebanon, 1920-1975. New York: Garland Publishing Corporation.

Shils, E. (1957), Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties. British Journal of Sociology, 8, 130-145.

Spagnolo, J. P. (1971), Constitutional Change in Mount Lebanon, 1861-1864. Middle Eastern Studies, 7, 25-48.

Starr, P.D. (1978), Ethnic categories and identification in Lebanon. Urban Life, 7, 111-142.

Stonquist, E.V. (1961), The Marginal Man. New York: Russell and Russell.

Volkan, V.D. (1979), Symptom formation and character change due to upheavals of war; Examples from Cyprus. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 33, 239-262.

Zak, I. (1976), Structure of ethnic identity of Arab-Israeli students. Psychological Reports, 38, 239-246.

Zak, I. (1973), Dimensions of Jewish-American identity. Psychological Reports, 33, 891-900.

Table 1

The mean and standard deviation of the 1974 and the 1978 samples on ethnic orientation, Armenian identity and Lebanese identity, t-tests and correlations.

Samples	N	Ethnic Orientation	Armenian Identity	Lebanese Identity	Correlations Arm. vs Leb.
Pre-War	107	3.75 (.68)*	-	-	-
1978	246	4.00 (.55)	4.86 (.70)	3.79 (.90)	-.08
		$t = 5.80$			
		$p < .001$			
Partici-pants	83	4.09 (.52)	4.93 (.68)	4.01 (.93)	+.56**
Non-Par-ticipants	83	4.01 (.50)	4.91 (.59)	3.73 (.92)	+.18
		$t = 1.01$	$t = .20$	$t = 2.03$	
		n.s.	n.s.	$p < .05$	
Lose Someone	62	3.93 (.57)	4.89 (.94)	3.88 (.94)	-.19
Not Lose Someone	62	4.06 (.53)	4.91 (.74)	3.79 (.79)	+.23
		$t = 1.93$	$t = .58$	$t = .17$	
		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	

*Numbers in parenthesis represent standard deviations.

**Significant at $p < .001$.

Table 2

Comparison of the mean item ratings of the 1974 and the 1978 samples on each of the 50 ethnic orientation items

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107 Mean	1974 Standard Deviation	1978 N = (Variable) Mean	1978 Standard Deviation	1978 N	t Ratio	p**
1. Armenians and Turks cannot be friends	3.45*	1.7	3.86	1.8	247	2.06	.05
2. First Lebanese then Armenian	4.08	1.9	3.49	1.7	2.45	2.77	.01
3. Shame to speak another language if know Armenian	4.74	1.6	4.98	1.5	247	1.32	N.S.
4. Armenian businesses closed on Armenian holidays	5.03	1.4	5.19	1.1	246	1.05	N.S.
5. Old customs be dropped	4.12	1.6	3.57	1.5	245	3.02	.01
6. Consider Lebanon as homeland	3.81	1.6	3.52	1.6	246	1.56	N.S.
7. Cannot stay Armenian without speaking Armanian	4.46	1.5	4.30	1.6	246	.94	N.S.
8. Armenian schools accept non-Armenians	2.58	1.7	3.38	1.7	247	4.06	.001
9. "Armenian is beautiful"	3.46	1.9	4.17	1.6	246	3.33	.001
10. Speak Armenian if know the language	5.18	1.3	5.24	1.2	246	.41	N.S.
11. Be fanatic to preserve identity	3.62	1.6	3.44	1.6	246	.98	N.A.
12. Those not involved in "Armenian Cause" are as good	4.20	1.7	4.10	1.6	247	.51	N.S.
13. Shame when famous Armenians not acknowledge Armenian origin	4.49	1.4	5.19	1.2	243	4.49	.001

Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107 Mean	1974 N = 107 Standard Deviation	1978 N = (Variable) Mean	1978 N = (Variable) Standard Deviation	N	t Ratio	p
14. Not blame young for preferring non-Armenian music	4.14	1.4	3.89	1.6	248	1.48	N.S.
15. Support church morally and financially	3.97	1.6	4.62	1.2	247	3.77	.001
16. Sending children to non-Armenian schools has benefits	3.43	1.6	2.87	1.6	245	3.03	.01
17. Help another Armenian in a fight	3.20	1.7	3.10	1.7	248	.59	N.S.
18. Turkish movie attenders are as good Armenians	3.03	1.7	2.53	1.6	246	2.59	.01
19. Those not party members are equally good Armenians	5.05	1.3	4.75	1.3	247	2.00	.05
20. Prefer to buy from Armenian grocer	3.62	1.6	4.06	1.5	247	2.42	.02
21. Law breaking disgraces Armenian people	4.16	1.7	4.49	1.4	239	1.75	N.S.
22. First a person then an Armenian	4.90	1.5	4.06	1.7	242	4.54	.001
23. Good Armenians not belong to non-Armenian church	4.31	1.7	4.53	1.5	243	1.16	N.S.
24. Wrong to have negative attitude toward Armenian culture	4.93	1.3	5.03	1.2	246	.68	N.S.
25. Good Armenians read Armenian newspapers	4.08	1.6	3.80	1.5	248	1.54	N.S.

Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107 Mean	1974 N = 107 Standard Deviation	1978 N = (Variable) Mean	1978 N = (Variable) Standard Deviation	N	t Ratio	p
26. Armenian political parties better organized	3.90	1.6	3.74	.8	241	.98	N.S.
27. Bothersome to have Armenian neighbors	3.07	1.6	3.02	1.4	244	.25	N.S.
28. Armenians more hardworking	4.31	1.3	5.07	1.0	247	4.92	.001
29. Armenian mothers more devoted to family	3.68	1.7	4.19	1.6	246	2.64	.01
30. Armenian fathers more attached to family	3.65	1.7	4.05	1.5	246	2.11	.05
31. Armenian schools should not overload students with Armenian courses	2.75	1.5	3.28	1.8	247	2.86	.01
32. Armenian prostitudes rare to find	3.60	1.6	4.06	1.4	231	2.55	.05
33. Prefer employment by non-Armenian	3.09	1.5	2.99	1.4	240	.59	N.S.
34. Should settle in Armenian not to assimilate	4.30	1.5	4.23	1.6	238	.39	N.S.
35. Armenian upbringing prevents delinquency	3.96	1.4	4.05	1.3	194	.56	N.S.
36. Not celebrate Christmas on 6th of January	3.27	1.8	2.99	1.7	243	1.36	N.S.
37. Always cheer Armenian team	4.82	1.3	4.81	1.2	246	.07	N.S.
38. Not blame young for failing to learn Armenian	2.99	1.5	2.58	1.6	248	2.31	.05
39. Church not as important today in preserving identity	4.19	1.4	3.03	1.5	240	6.99	.001
40. Compatriotic organizations not needed any more	3.66	1.8	2.71	1.4	231	4.82	.001

Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107 Mean	1974 N = 107 Standard Deviation	1978 N = (Variable) Mean	1978 N = (Variable) Standard Deviation	N	t Ratio	p
41. Old country folks are different	3.20	1.7	3.23	1.5	228	.15	N.S.
42. Armenians should marry Armenians	4.64	1.6	4.88	1.5	246	1.32	N.S.
43. Taking on foreign names not good	4.11	1.6	3.75	1.6	244	1.94	N.S.
44. Armenian child should play with non-Armenians	3.88	1.6	3.95	1.5	248	.38	N.S.
45. Armenian literature matches international standards	3.46	1.8	4.46	1.4	237	5.10	.001
46. Essential to visit Armenia to stay Armenian	4.25	1.3	4.42	1.3	248	1.13	N.S.
47. Lebanese-Armenian children more gifted	3.74	1.6	3.67	1.4	246	.39	N.S.
48. Non-Armenian education more beneficial	3.66	1.5	3.01	1.5	246	3.73	.001
49. Lebanese cooking as good as Armenian	3.08	1.5	3.93	1.5	244	4.89	.001
50. Should degrade Turks whenever possible	2.92	1.5	4.22	1.5	245	7.47	.001

* Higher the rating higher the ethnic orientation reflected in the item.

** N.S. stands for "not significantly different." The rest represent different levels of significant differences.